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about a corresponding similarity of wants and purposes, and a consequent network of exchanges, all of which result in a solidarity of interests. This solidarity expresses itself in the gradual unification of business in the field of capital and in that of labor, in the exchange of products and the buying and selling of public securities. Nor is it therefore to be wondered at, if the same instinct of self-interest, expressing itself in more noble ways, is, with progressive success, automatically creating a bulwark against those disturbances of peace which, under present conditions, so different from those of ancient times, through their necessarily widespread effects, prove so ruinous not only to the conquered but also to the conqueror, and even to those who are not parties to the conflict.

Finally, in the matter of international political relations, there is henceforth to prevail, through a providential concurrence of circumstances, what may be called a delicate system of coöperation. Tokens of this are the alliances and friendly agreements,—alliances which, as experience has demonstrated, are not menacing to the states which are excluded; agreements which do not in the least weaken the value of the alliances. And in the varied interlacing of these, by virtue of the timely equilibria produced and of their reciprocal interactions, those guarantees of durable peace, which otherwise it would be vain to hope for, are supported and nourished; and thus are worked out, in an orderly way, with increasing success, solutions of controversies which, in other days, when states were less coherent and rash appeal to arms the common practice, would have been impeded or retarded, or have left occasion for dangerous conflicts. Thus it is not rash to assert that in the new processes of the common international life, and also, in another way, in the springing up of world institutions like the Postal Union, the Hague Court, the Institute of Agriculture, already, indirectly if not directly, in part if not in whole, the same advantages are being secured as might be expected from the operation of a single world-state. Thus in reality, if not directly, and none the less vitally and certainly, we see presenting themselves the germs and foretokens of the future federative political union of the peoples of the earth, the natural complement of their economic, juridic and moral unity.

In a word, ladies and gentlemen, everything is conspiring to render it clear, whatever the cynics, the reactionaries and the shallow-minded may think about it, that the prophecies of the promoters of peace are not without foundations, that they are not the products of an unhealthy hysteria or of delusive dreams, but of universal thought, which tends to greater harmony and refinement; of the bonds more solid and extended, which bind together men and states; of the new necessities which impose themselves upon their existence and their progress, and of the wise decisions toward which, in the common interests, governing and governed alike are gravitating.

History has indeed recorded, in the last hundred years and more, the sanguinary tribute paid primarily by one people, which was the precursor, to the cause of the rights of man, and later by others, as a necessary consequence, to the principle of nationality. But these fundamental problems having been almost everywhere settled, the condition of the civic world is now evidently reach-

ing—and we have daily proofs of this—a *régime* which tends to harmony and coöperation,—harmony and coöperation which, after bringing about wise agreements among the governments of the more fortunate nations of Europe, promise to extend themselves also beyond this sphere in the regards of the barbarous peoples, and all the more, the more cruel the spectacle which has been presented to men of heart, and the more bitter the fruit which has been gathered by the conquerors in the more recent colonial wars; harmony and coöperation which, from the wider sphere of international relations, tend to involve also the internal and social relations of the nations: so unanimous is the wish that the inevitable dissensions between classes, religions and races may always find spontaneous adjustment through the wise use of rights and duties, in a large spirit of tolerance, and in the majesty of law; so unanimous and intense also is the wish that the cries of hatred and of suffering which reach us these days from a most noble country, Russia, may soon give place to the reign of liberty, order and concord.

We all therefore, ladies and gentlemen, ought to be encouraged to persevere in our faith. The early triumph of the cause of peace, in spite of certain discordant notes, is not alone the pious hope of souls, but is daily made certain by the eloquence of facts and by the teachings of science. It is the gradual unfolding of a law of progress and of unification, of coördination and completeness, which, with instructive analogy, presides equally over the destinies of the life of peoples and the development of individual life, over the phenomena of thought and the evolution of the phenomena of nature.

And to you all, ladies and gentlemen, who in a supreme and common purpose, growing out of the love of humanity, have made yourselves the representatives of the inspirations of the heart and the dictates of intelligence, the interests of the present good and the hopes of the future,—to you, Milan, proud to be to-day the symbol of peace among the nations, in the fruitful rivalry of labor,—to you, as the glorious heralds of a peace more certain, vaster and more enduring, offers its warm and enthusiastic salutation at the opening of your proceedings.

Address of E. T. Moneta, President of the Committee on Organization, at the Opening of the Milan Peace Congress, September 15.

To me falls the pleasant duty and the honor of welcoming you in the name of the Committee of Organization and of the Lombard Peace Union, on whose invitation last year at Lucerne you decided that the fifteenth Peace Congress should be held this year at Milan.

With open heart I say to you: Welcome to this city, which is wholly given to labor and to traffic, but in which labor and traffic have never been opposed to the loftiest moral interests; to this city, which glories in having been the home of Beccaria di Pareni, of Manzoni and of Carlo Cattaneo, who in times of discord and of war were priests of universal peace, and while educating the youth to the love of country and freely sacrificing their own lives, dreamed of the union of all peoples and set this forth as the supreme goal of endeavor. From their instruction arose the generations which worked together for the

national restoration and kept our revolution free from all excesses. The marbles and the bronzes which you will find on some of the squares and streets of Milan recall battles fought within its walls, but no one of these battles was fought in the spirit of hatred or of domination. Indeed, in the struggle our sentiments were always humane and kindly, even toward the soldiers who had to be fought against. We wished our country free, because without liberty there is no true peace. We desired national independence, in order that Italy might be able, in the fellowship of the nations, to fulfill her duties toward humanity, and be an element of peace and concord among the nations of Europe.

I thank you all, therefore, who have come here to manifest your faith in the final triumph of reason, of justice and of good. With the profoundest emotions of my soul I thank and salute him upon whose venerable head your eyes naturally fix themselves first, the master of us all, Frederic Passy, who, though eighty-four and one-half years of age and blind, has braved the fatigues and the perils of a long journey, to come and bring once more to our Congress his word of faith, of encouragement and of hope.

This ideal, which is the synthesis and the summing up of all others, is not a modern conception. It dates from the day in which humanity took the first steps to deliver itself from its primitive savagery. It is found in embryo in the sacred books of the religions which are most humane, in the poems which are most ancient. It arises in the mind of every man who comes to the world with an instinct of love in his heart and who casts a glance beyond the little circle in which he was born. This ideal is not simply a dream of poets, but arises from the very law of social evolution, which has brought humanity from the primitive tribal state to ever larger and completer social groups.

This ideal of a humanity wholly united in one grand civil union and fellowship is still a long way from being realized; but from the middle ages on, every century has marked a stage forward towards its realization. But the greatest impulse towards it was given by the French Revolution, which, although it was in a measure arrested because of its excesses, had nevertheless, through its immense force, given to every people the consciousness of their rights and their power, the effects of which were not slow in showing themselves.

The nineteenth was the century of the reclamation of nationality and popular liberty. For many years the peoples who had aspired after these found in their rulers so many enemies. But when the larger number of the rulers discovered that the persecutions intended to suppress the spirit of emancipation only served to intensify it, and that the representatives of the rich and most cultivated classes were all in the camp of the reformers and revolutionaries, they made a virtue of necessity, and by dividing their power with the representatives of the people, they reënforced it.

Wherever, on the other hand, the resistance on the part of the governing authorities continued, the people resorted to arms to secure their liberty, and the rulers who were determined to continue to the last their opposition were gotten out of the way by the revolution.

In this reclamation of the nationalities, it was a most novel and comforting spectacle which occurred recently

in the north of Europe, where the artificial and enforced union between Norway and Sweden, created by the Holy Alliance (of despicable memory), was dissolved without the shedding of a single drop of blood and without leaving behind either remorse or bitterness. It is a noble example which does honor to both peoples, small in extent but morally great; an example which, it is to be hoped, may be followed also in those countries where the problem of nationality still awaits its ultimate solution. The sentiment of humanity is superior and anterior to that of nationality; and the peoples who, by the conquest of their rights, arose to their proper place, comprehended instinctively that their interests were one and the same, and the cause of liberty was common to all.

On this account every insurrection undertaken for the liberty or the nationality of a country had the moral or material support of other peoples. And so, at Paris as at Berlin, at Milan as at Vienna, at Budapest as at Baden, the struggles for the reclamation of the national rights were accompanied by manifestations in behalf of the liberty and the independence of other nations. The work of the societies for peace and for international justice is therefore nothing else than a sequence of the revolutions to which almost all the peoples of Europe owe the good fortune of being able to govern themselves.

There is a large patriotism allied to a conscious humanism, or, if you please, a patriotic internationalism, which, beginning with the dominating note of the historic period in which we live, has determined the great currents of the public spirit, which is no longer Italian only, or French, or English, or German, but in certain relations European and in others universal.

From this comes the fact that every people protests with indignation against every act of injustice, every act of tyranny of another people, and is aroused by every catastrophe, as recent instances prove, which touches a city or a nation, however remote, and rejoices over every victory of a people over its oppressors. This sentiment is general, and it will become ever stronger and stronger because it draws its force also from self-interest.

No people can longer prosper without a continuous exchange of merchandise and goods with other peoples. Industries, commerce, banking, emigration, are bringing peoples ever nearer together without confounding them. "The peoples," said our Carlo Cattaneo half a century ago, "do not love each other, because they do not know each other." The day will soon come when this statement cannot again be made, because the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, travel, commerce and industry are putting peoples into continual contact with each other; and when they know each other, their prejudices, their suspicions and hereditary antipathies will disappear, and in their place will come respect and ultimately mutual sympathy.

But in order that this new phase of history may not remain sterile, but may produce the fruits which the peoples have a right to expect from it, it must be attended by international acts profitable to all. And this the English government first of all has comprehended. Its proposal for a beginning of disarmament to be effected by the principal states, the words, so eloquent,

so full of humanitarian sentiments, pronounced by the Prime Minister, Sir Campbell-Bannerman, at the Inter-parliamentary Conference held in London last July, were received throughout the civilized world as a promise of great accomplishments which will not fail of realization. And I believe that one of the first acts of our Congress will be to send to this distinguished statesman the expression of our homage and our gratitude.

And now, after what I have said, let me give the following words from his most important discourse: "The time is approaching when nothing can hold back from them [the people] the knowledge that it is they who are the victims of war and militarism; that war in its tawdry triumphs scatters the fruits of their labor, breaks down the paths of progress and turns the fire of constructive energy into a destroying force."

When the head of the government of a nation which is among the foremost, if it is not the most powerful of the nations of the world, speaks the language which heretofore has been ours only, and which for a long time brought upon us the scorn of the half-enlightened who pose as the wisest of men, I do not say that our mission is ended, — because for those who love justice and believe in perpetual progress the hour of repose will never come, — but I do say that the hour in which our dearest wishes will begin to be realized cannot be far away.

When an idea of justice has once entered into the universal consciousness, all the conceptions of men of lofty intellect, and all the manifestations of folly, as well as unexpected events, give it their reinforcement. The example of the British government, which to its words of peace has added acts, will not remain isolated. The presence of a representative of our Minister and his declarations assure us that Italy will be among the first to follow.

Europe is, at the present hour, in a condition very similar to that to which I alluded a little while ago. For a long time the governments were opposed, seeing both in those who had raised the banner and in those who were following it so many enemies. But after long resistance and much shedding of blood they turned about and supported a movement which was determined by general needs and historic unity. Thus it will be with international peace and justice. The movement which aims to bring about these was for years judged by the governments to be either useless or subversive, and, according to the circumstances, was either opposed or looked upon with contempt.

Now the governments which are most civilized and most sagacious have discovered that it is not the work of a few deluded persons, but that it responds to an imperious necessity of the time, to the law which has always guided society towards larger organizations, from the family groups to the tribal city, from the city to the regional organization, and so on to the great states of to-day. But since these are not sufficient to satisfy the growing needs of continued expansion and of the better relations between the states, from the present alliances will come the constitution of a federal union of the different nations. This law of expansion expressed itself in the times of barbarism and of tyranny by means of force. To-day it will be observed and carried out with the consent of free peoples and in peaceful ways.

But at the present, while we deplore the sad days in

which ignorance and barbarism pitted men in cruel struggle against each other, we are not called upon to execrate all the wars of the past. And as on the morning of a victory which brought the liberation of a people from foreign oppression, I say: "Blessed be those who died in battle for the just cause of independence and liberty, since it is to their sacrifice that we owe the good fortune of being able to-day, all united, to consecrate all our strength to the establishment of a true and lasting peace. To labor for this peace is a sacred duty which we owe to the millions of men who for cause left their bodies on the fields of war as food for wild beasts. With the exception of the few human tigers who rejoice in the midst of the slaughters of battles and find themselves disgusted in times of complete peace, and who, even in a civilized age, are to be classed among the monsters of the zoological kingdom, — there is not one among those millions who died in battle who had not given his life voluntarily in the faith and the hope that the war to which duty called him was to be the last among civilized countries.

And if at this moment these millions could rise and file, with their bleeding bodies, past your gaze, I think that an immense cry would issue from their reopened wounds and would say to you: "Oh, see that the sacrifice of our lives may not have been made in vain; see that other millions of orphans may not have to languish and suffer through your fault as our sons suffered; see that other millions of widows may not have to weep for husbands slain as our wives wept for us. Give peace to the world. This was our last hope when we died — our last wish."

Ladies and gentlemen, make this wish of those who died in battle yours; let it be your guide in the labors of our congress; let it be the inspiration of your deliberation. Be the testamentary executors of all the revolutions made in the name of liberty and of justice; lend your aid in bringing about the peace of the world, and from your own country and from all lands millions of friends will call you blessed.

The American delegation to the Milan Congress was not as large as it ought to have been. Senator L. E. Chamberlain, from the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, from the Universal Peace Union, Dr. William H. Tolman (New York), Mrs. Corinne H. Wilson (Paris), and Benjamin F. Trueblood, delegates of the American Peace Society, made up the contingent from this country. Mr. Bliss Perry, of the *Atlantic*, one of the American Peace Society's delegates, spending the summer and autumn in Europe, was kept from the Congress by the serious illness of his daughter with typhoid fever, and Miss Anna B. Eckstein, another delegate, was compelled to return home before the Congress opened.

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